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/Since Métraux believes that the Chiriguano are actually descendants of the Guarani, early culture history of the Chiriguano, in regard to their migrations and relations with other groups with whom they came in contact, will be found in category 116, pp. 1-30. Much of the material in these pages has been subheaded for Guarani SM4 but if the author's contention is correct then the data contained therein may equally apply to the historical Chiriguano./

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on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike: used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion: the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín Gonsáles (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

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Making a critical study of Alejo García's story would be to follow paths already traced out and, besides, to leave the province of ethnography. This episode of the Conquest, so closely mingled with an ethnic phenomenon, appears today as a major event whose repercussions on the development of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata were considerable.

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Alejo García's expedition is distinguished from the preceding ones by its scope. Not content to raid the Chané, the Guarani Indians who formed this column had the audacity to attack the Inca fortresses of Cuzco-Toco and, after taking them by storm, to penetrate as plunderers into the provinces under the authority of the Peruvian emperor. The invaders crossed the frontier between Misque and Tomina and advanced 40 leagues into the interior. Near the villages of Presto and Tarabuco, not far from Chuquisaca, they were stopped by the Charcas Indians, according to Díaz de Guzmán, by troops raised in the Kontisuyu, according to Peruvian chronicles. The Guarani withdrew in good order, without abandoning the conquered booty.

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Huayna Capac, following this invasion which took place during his reign, had the destroyed forts restored and put strong garrisons in them.

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The Guarani invasion into Tahuantinsuyu is reported at the same time by the chroniclers of Paraguay and those of Peru (1).

1. Sarmiento de Gamboa, pp. 109-110: "While Guayna Capa was occupied in this war with the Cayambi's, the Chiriguanas, a mountain people, naked, and who eat human flesh and have a public slaughter house for it, joined together and, coming out from the harshness of the mountains, entered the land of the Charcas, which had been conquered by the ingas /Incas/ of Piru /Peru/. And they fell on the fortress of Cuscotuyo, where the inga had a large garrison of frontier troops against the Chiriguanaes. And as they suddenly sallied forth, they entered the fortress and killed them all and among those of the land.

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they caused great destruction, robberies, and deaths.

"This news went to Guayna Capac in Quito, who received it with great sorrow and immediately sent a captain of his, named Yasca, to Cuzco to form an army, and with it he was to go to wage war on the Chiriguanaes. The captain left for Cuzco, taking with him the guacas /huacas/, Catiquilla of Caxamarca and Guamachuco and Curichaculla of the Chachapoyas and the guaca Tomayrica and Chinchaycoaha with many of the guacas' own men. And he arrived in Cuzco where he was very well received by the governors named Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inga, and, forming his army, he left Cuzco for the Charcas. And on the way he took many troops from Collao, with which he came to the Chiriguanaes and waged cruel war and took some of them prisoner, whom he sent as specimens to Guayna Capac in Quito, so that he might see the strangeness of that people. And Captain Yasca rebuilt the fortresses which were there, and, putting in them the necessary garrison, he returned to Cuzco, where he dismissed the troops, and each one went back to his land." /Translated from the Spanish./

Santa Cruz Pachacuti, p. 304: "And at this time (of the Inca Huayna-capac) there came the news that the Cheriguanaes had come forth to take the lands of the ynga, which news upset the ynga, and so he sent the most experienced captains for the conquest of the Chiriguanaes, with 20,000 Chinchaysuyo men." /Translated from the Spanish./

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Balboa, p. 105: "But this fiesta was interrupted by the news from Cusco that the Chiriguanes, a cruel and brave people, had killed the garrisons of the frontiers and leveled the whole country as far as Chuquisaca and its surroundings. Guayna-Cápac was disturbed by this news, disguised his grief as much as he could, and called to command his army a man full of bravery and intrepidity, named Yasca, whom he ordered to punish this aggression. Yasca departed from Tumibamba at the head of the best of the ingas soldiers; moreover, he had orders to recruit from Caxamarca on all the men that he found, in order to wage the war which he was going to undertake; and in order to arouse their valor he ordered each nation to bring with it the great Guaca of its country, which is an idol besides, and to which they very frequently come. He arrived at Cusco with a large army made up of different nations; through all parts the governors welcomed him with affection and gave him great honors. Provided with everything that he might need and his army augmented with the best men from Collao, he continued on his way with the utmost speed in pursuit of the Chirihuanas; many battles were joined, without any victory declared by either of the two armies. Nevertheless Yasca took some prisoners, whom he sent to Quito. He repaired the damage that the enemies had done in the country, and he left a new garrison in the fortresses and on the frontiers; afterward he returned to Cusco, where the governors rewarded the soldiers who had distinguished themselves and permitted them to return to their countries, taking their Guacas, or idols." /Translated from the Spanish./

Cieza de Leon, p. 228: "(Guayna Capac) sent captains with troops of war to the Chiriguanaes; but things did not go well for them,

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for they returned, fleeing." /Translated from the Spanish./

They agree /Plate IV appears here/ /315/ on the essential fact and on the approximate date of the event. This coincidence between traditions whose sources are so different and which have been collected independently from each other in regions as far apart as this leaves absolutely no doubt about the purely historic nature of this invasion. Nordenskiöld (5, pp. 70-77) in the course of his last trip into the Chaco (1913-14) was able to study the ruins of the small forts of Cuzco-Toro (today Incahuasi), which always stand at the edge of Chiriguano country. By their style they belong to the Inca period. Nordenskiöld (7) and I had thought that García's expedition was the first in date that the Guarani had launched toward Peru. In reality, other Guarani emigrations preceded it by several years, as Gandía (2, p. 30) (1) succeeded in /316/ establishing.

1. Gandia (2, p. 30, note 1) cites various passages taken from old, reliable documents which seem to indicate that Garcia's expedition had been preceded by other previous migrations which, starting from Paraguay, had ended up in the establishment of Guarani groups beyond the Chaco. Thus the Tarapecoci recounted to Francisco Ribera how in ancient times, before García, the Guarani had come to plunder and massacre them.

A Relación anónima /Anonymous Account/ of 1545 (pp. 310-311) reports in these words the remarks of some Chané Indians who were questioned by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at the time of his expedition on the upper Paraguay: "among the people found there are certain yndios /Indians/ who are from the interior country, those of the chane people

[Text Continues on P. 36]

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/fn. 1 cont./ who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guarani already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanes; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

/316 cont./
G 175 167 decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
G 131 175 167 course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la Sierra."

G 175 167 648 In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movements: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guarani Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guarani were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guarani Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guarani race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guarani was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guarani, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ *on the Paraguay River:* that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
G [721] [726] of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text Continues on P. 41]

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there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

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they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

C 175 /327 cont./ brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked; the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves; if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga, Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

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The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

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1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves; they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves; these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water; they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Parapití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

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It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1745 we see the

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1: Métraux--169 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
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/397 cont./ these peoples maintained. These relations between Chiriguano and Humahuaca Indians are historically attested to. At the time of the uprisings which took place during the period of the Spanish conquest, Humahuaca and Chiriguano united to resist the common enemy (see Boman, 2, Vol. I, p. 77).

The yambuí and yapepo, of which I made a good collection in the upper Pilcomayo region, provide new evidence, even more conclusive, of this striking parallelism which appears between the pottery of the modern Chiriguano and the prehistoric populations of northern Argentina. To allow a direct influence of the Humahuaca Indians on the ancestors of the present-day Chiriguano living on the upper course of the Pilcomayo in the departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca would be a point of view difficult to defend. The radiance of the culture of the Quebrada de Humahuaca could have affected only the southern Chiriguano and the Chané of the Itiyuro. As for the hypothesis which would make of the Chiriguano the precursors of this culture, it is so absurd, so contrary to all good sense, that we cannot envisage it here. At the spot where the Pilcomayo gets ready to leave the valley that it digs across the Andean spurs to spread out in the Chaco plain, the Chiriguano had Chicha Indians as immediate neighbors whose territory extended to the north of the Quebrada de Humahuaca in the south of present-day Bolivia. It was they who transmitted the special forms of their pottery and its principal decorative elements to the Chané, who in turn left them to their successors and conquerors, the Chiriguano. Perhaps the Chané have not everywhere been the inevitable intermediaries between the two cultures; in many cases, Chicha groups must have communicated directly to the Guarani invaders the principal products of their industrial techniques and of their arts.

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/398/ We know from 16th and 17th century documents that the Chiriguano constantly made forays into Chicha territory, that they raided their villages, made them pay tribute, and carried away groups of these Indians into slavery, as they did with the Chané. These direct contacts between the Chiriguano and their western neighbors must have contributed greatly to the spread of Andean civilization among them, and

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Initiation rites.—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ú, ú" for the masculine "tà." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

Marriage.—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

Death.—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate. The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two crushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

Intertribal warfare.—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

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799 of the Indians (1).

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1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [199] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

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3. Martarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission.

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178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the conversores, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

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committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

Boxing and Dueling

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In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Güiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Güiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

622 /159 cont./
[262] may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[273] Cangüi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticüi, meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Güiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

•721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the [643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Güiracoti tried without [837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Güiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

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921 648 Gilracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gilracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

926 929 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Iventa, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gilracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

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In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Güiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Irenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

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1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tunpa, but, as this war was against the whites, Tunpa took charge of the military operations.

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Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaranti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuru, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igüipinta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Güiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tengua were the Indians of the left bank of the same Parapiti up to Gutierrez; the subalterns of Machirope were, as was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igüembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igüembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

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868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868 852 239

1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians [554] who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

721 726 799 In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

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When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Puruumucau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice: he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana me pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

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2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

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721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense: they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 173 643 [727] Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission: against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites: against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty: and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Gilliracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Gilliracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 411 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/170 cont./

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that, they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsiriakua Indians.

CR 846 /88 cont./ but no meat (349). Later he can eat sweet potatoes. When the

CR 553 551 603

349. See Métraux I, p. 320, note 3.

baby begins to walk, he is given one name at most, not by his parents, but by his grandparents. Nicknames are often added to CR 736 the proper name later (350). Orphans are brought up by their

350. Nord. 1, p. 208.

relatives (351).

351. Nord. 1, p. 210.

C 721 From the time they first immigrated to the Sierra de la Cordillera, the Chiriguano, that is, their parcialidades, made war or attacks on the neighboring Indian tribes or the Spaniards. In the historical sketch placed at the beginning of this work, I C [411] [701] [727] have described these hostilities in broad outline. Their weapons of war were bows and arrows and the club. The caciques were also war chiefs. According to what one Chané cacique told Nordenskiöld, these Indians formerly had the custom of bringing home the heads of their dead enemies and of showing them during the fiestas in the town square (352). The Chiriguano capacity

C 175 721

352. Nord. 1, p. 172.

for war was still recognized by the Spaniards in the 16th century. In the "Declaración de Sebastián Pérez Chamoso" in 1571, it is said of them: "With the inventions and tricks and mode of war that they have, they have done and are doing said damages unto the Spaniards, Indians, and workers that are in the said fields" (353).

353. Moreno II, p. 107.

C 726 Before the Chiriguano launched their attack upon King Guacane, they reconnoitered with spies the Llanos of Grigota where the

C 175 712 648

/89 cont./

only one way up, very narrow and steep, which, sown with thorny branches, made it more impenetrable. On the eminence of which they had entrenched the gate with stakes stuck into the ground."

Ce 178 648 721

Today the Chiriguano and Chané no longer make war upon other Indians, aside from the fact that the Chané on the Parapití occasionally go on expeditions against the Tsirakua Indians (357).

357. Nord. 1, p. 171.

Law

Ce 691 190 178

Because the white authorities intervene more and more in the original, juridical traditions of the Chiriguano and Chané, many of them no longer exist today and also, from the few data which Nordenskiöld gives regarding this matter as of 30 years ago, many do not now correspond to the facts.

Ce 627

With regard to penal law, we find among these Indians a mixture between the principle of the "vendetta" and the practice of penal law. Among the Chané on the Parapití, most crimes, and robbery in particular, were settled by means of the duel.

Ce [685]

In the case of theft, the one who has stolen and the one who has been robbed appear, each with his relatives, in the town square

Ce 697 643 68

to fight each other. Only homicide, the seduction of a woman, and sorcery were decided by the great cacique as judge. Homicide, which formerly occurred among the Chané in the form of poisoning with poisoned chicha ("bád dyási"), and sorcery were punished by the burning of the criminal. The seducer of a woman lost his property (358). According to statements of the substitute great

358. Nord. 1, p. 232.

cacique of the Chané on the Itiyuru, it was the principal obligation of the cacique to avoid the vendetta by sending criminals to another region so that they would not be killed. Thus thieves, after having received 50 lashes, were sent to another town. A murderer was condemned to work up to half a year for the family